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There, in South Africa, But for The Grace of God

Every American, North and South, white and black, may watch the dreadful unfolding of events in South Africa with gratitude. There, but for the grace of God, go we. The dimensions of our racial problem seem manageably small, the dimensions of our racial shame bearable, when we see what is happening in the environs of Capetown and Johannesburg. There, writ large in letters so incendiary they may set fire to all Africa below the Sahara, are lessons from which we Americans may yet profit in time. The first is that racism, however perfumed with magnolias or glorified by a *voortrekker* mythos, inevitably degenerates into Fascism. The whips wielded by the South African police on striking Negro workers are leaving welts on the white race everywhere. All our ideals—Judeo-Christian religion, democracy, freedom—are made to seem masks for savage exploitation.

White Racism Breeds Black Racism

The second lesson is that white racism breeds black racism. The patient Luthuli of the African National Congress, who hoped that the Negro could win the Afrikaaner over to a multi-racial brotherhood, has been pushed aside by the bitter Sobukwe of the Pan Africanist Congress with that slogan of "Africa for the Africans" which implies no fraternity with white men. These extremists were strengthened by the massacre at Sharpeville of demonstrators against the hated pass books, and by the government's frightened suspension of the pass book laws, a victory for the blacks which is revolutionary, for the pass book is not a mere passport. It is the mechanism of intimidation and servitude, subjecting the black worker to his white employer's whim, to police terror and to forced labor. The burning of the passes is an act of self-emancipation and white South Africa's attempt to reinstate passes is suicidal folly.

The third lesson for us Americans in South Africa's race war is to prize and to preserve while there is yet time that element of community between white and black which exists here but does not exist in South Africa. No great national myth binds together South African white and black, mixed blood and Indian. There is no sense of common nationhood, hardly a common tongue. We are fortunate that our own fellow citizens of color in their struggle for full equality, appeal to common national heroes and ideals, to Lincoln and to the Declaration; that common chords of feeling bind us; that the Negro wants to be *integrated*, that he wants to be fully American with the rest of us. This desire for a multi-racial life can be the foundation for national security in the century ahead when the colored peoples by sheer numbers and industrialization will end white hegemony on this planet. The American Negro asks only to sit with us and eat with us

Everybody for Ike Except Nixon?

In last week's issue we reported that Senator Kennedy had been as ambiguous as Lyndon Johnson and Symington when asked by the Washington Star (March 27) whether they would honor a gentleman's agreement on a nuclear test moratorium entered into by President Eisenhower. We are happy to note that the following Sunday (April 3) on "Face the Nation", Senator Kennedy not only took a clear position but disclosed that "a few days ago" he had written the President to tell him that he would honor any moratorium to which Eisenhower had agreed. When he was asked whether other candidates should do likewise, he magnanimously recognized that Humphrey's position was already clear and suggested that it would be "valuable" if the other candidates followed suit since then the President "would be completely free to go ahead without any regard to the problem of binding his successor."

The Kennedy statement forced Senators Johnson and Symington to say "me, too" next morning, though with no great enthusiasm and with escape clauses. The result was that overnight an issue which had been Humphrey's lonely monopoly suddenly became the common position of all four avowed Democratic candidates. All four were lined up behind the President.

Now the President, as everyone knows, has a Vice President and the Vice President is a candidate to succeed him. On nuclear testing, as on most issues, Mr. Nixon has managed to maintain an extraordinary silence. When, however, last Monday morning Johnson and Symington lined up with Kennedy on testing, Mr. Nixon suddenly seemed to be the only candidate for President who was not backing Eisenhower! As a result, late Monday afternoon, when repeated inquiries from newspapermen had become too embarrassing, Mr. Nixon's press secretary, Mr. Herbert Klein, issued a statement saying "of course, there is no question" that the Vice President would honor any testing agreement by the President.

Symington at least did say "everybody should be" for banning nuclear tests. Lyndon Johnson, while evading any position on testing, at least spoke out personally, saying that in the absence of "extreme provocation" he would carry out any commitments made by Mr. Eisenhower. Mr. Nixon is the only candidate who didn't think the subject important enough for a direct quotation, and the chilly minimal little statement belatedly issued by his press secretary gives no clue whatsoever to Mr. Nixon's views on testing. Rockefeller is for resumption of testing, Eisenhower is against it. Nobody knows where Nixon stands.

as a brother. He fights to end the humiliation of *apartheid*. This is the secret of the wonderful sit-downs sweeping the South. Perhaps African events may lead our South to meet that march to equality with sobered mind and fraternal hand.

Jay Lovestone Uses the Labor Movement to Run An International Network

Portrait of the Ex-Communist Leader Who Molds AFL-CIO Foreign Policy

Last week's issue told of Adenauer's award of a medal to George Meany of the AFL-CIO and to the latter's foreign policy adviser, ex-Communist leader Jay Lovestone, as background for the Conference on World Affairs they will hold in New York City April 19-20. This conference, advertised as a meeting to give the nation "competent clarification" of the issues to be dealt with at the coming summit meeting, will give a platform only to those who agree with Adenauer's "hard" line and want a stepped up arms race instead of negotiation. Speakers will include Henry A. Kissinger, the Rockefeller brain truster and theoretician of "limited" nuclear war and Gen. John B. Medaris, recently retired chief of the Army missile program. Here we present a portrait of Lovestone.

By Labor Observer

Jay Lovestone holds no executive office; he merely carries the modest appellation of a member of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs. Probably not one trade union member in a hundred has even heard of his name. And yet this mysterious figure, keeping discreetly in the background, is the day-by-day architect of American labor's foreign policy and the director of its network of agents abroad. He has never been elected to a union office, and could not be, but he probably wields more influence than many prominent union officials well known to both their memberships and the public.

That a person of his background could have wormed his way into this position is remarkable in and of itself. Jay Lovestone was one of the founders of the American Communist Party, and its national secretary before Earl Browder. When Lovestone got caught in the Russian factional struggles, he was expelled in 1929. He thereupon set up his own dissident Communist splinter group which continued in business until 1941. The line of the Lovestone group was that Stalin was doing a fine job in Russia, but that his methods wouldn't work in America.

Dubinsky Foe Becomes Dubinsky Protege

After the group dissolved, Lovestone got a job as advisor to David Dubinsky, head of the Ladies Garment Union, through Charles Zimmerman, president of Local 22, once a Dubinsky foe and now an International vice president of the union. By the late thirties, Zimmerman and his Lovestoneite associates in control of Local 22, had made peace with Dubinsky, and become his agents around the labor movement. Dubinsky, a close friend and ally of George Meany, persuaded the latter to take on Lovestone as his foreign policy expert when Meany assumed the AFL presidency.

Lovestone is the professional ex-Communist *à l'outrance*.

Another Powerful Lovestoneite

Another Lovestoneite ex-Communist is Benjamin Mandel, Research Director of the Senate Internal Security Committee, once business manager of the Daily Worker under his party name of Bert Miller. Mandel was expelled from the party with Lovestone in 1929. Mandel became an assistant to J. B. Matthews in running the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1939, and left it to go into the State Department as a "security officer" in 1944. In 1946, he returned to the House Committee, later becoming McCarran's assistant on Internal Security in the IPR case (see p. 3).

Reuther to Talk for SANE

The sharp divergence in policy between the AFL and the CIO men in the merged labor movement appears strikingly in the announcement that Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers and vice president of the AFL-CIO will address the mass meeting which the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy will hold in New York's Madison Square Garden May 19. Other speakers will be Eleanor Roosevelt, Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence, and A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters.

The world remains divided between black and white as before; the good guys and bad guys have simply shifted positions. He has brought to his new role the same narrow-mindedness, the identical measure of dishonesty, the unrelieved bigotry and absence of scruple, which Communism had originally taught him; he has merely changed the locale of his activities. With the AFL-CIO aligned in its foreign outlook with Truman, the China Lobby and the American Legion, it could easily overlook Lovestone's unsavory past to make use of his expert knowledge of Communist techniques, and his long acquaintance with Communist personnel around the world.

Lovestone is considered a sinister figure by most who know him, but no one has accused him of being a slouch on the production end of a job. He has performed impressively in organizing an apparatus of agents in a score of countries. Lovestoneite's gumshoe men use money, State Department influence and variegated forms of persuasion to interfere in the affairs of foreign labor organizations.

The ex-Lovestoneite Irving Brown is the chief AFL-CIO representative in Europe. He deals with labor officials and government personnel like a plenipotentiary of a sovereign power. The ex-Lovestoneite Harry Goldberg works for the Department of International Affairs and was the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' pro-consul in Indonesia for a spell. The State Department is expanding its program of labor attachés, and as George M. Harrison recently boasted, calls upon the AFL-CIO to nominate the candidates. These originate out of Lovestone's office. On another front, the Lovestone task force works in close unison with Allan Dulles' CIA. Ed Lahey, columnist and labor expert for the Knight chain of newspapers, informs us that the CIA "has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international Communism from Lovestone."* The labor imperialism of Lovestone-Meany has led to a lot of bad blood and blowups between American and foreign labor officials, but the American unions foot a big part of the ICFTU bills; so they cannot too easily be attacked. Organized labor, according to the books, ought to be on the side of the angels. It is instead, in this era of world peril, out-Dullesing the late lamented Dulles, and has turned over the conduct of its foreign affairs to a fanatic. The main hope is that there is growing opposition to Lovestone within the Executive Council on the part of Reuther and some of the other ex-CIO heads.

*The gifted Lahey, in a lethal phrase, said Lovestone was "half cloak-and-dagger, half cloak-and-suiter."—IFS

Federal Judge Dismisses the Charges Against the Institute for Pacific Relations**An Epilogue to the McCarthy-McCarran Era Buried Among the Obits**

As in the day's of McCarthy's glory, the charges may make page one headlines but the rebuttals, if noticed at all, are squeezed into the back pages. Buried on the obituary page of the *New York Times* April 1, unnoticed in most of the nation's press, was news of the first judicial appraisal of those charges against the Institute for Pacific Relations which provided first McCarthy and then McCarran with the material they used to terrorize the State Department, to smear Far Eastern experts who did not follow the China Lobby line, and to make impossible to this day full and sober public discussion of our relations with the new China.

Afraid to Produce Witnesses in Court?

The case was a suit by the Institute to recover back taxes paid in 1955 when its tax exemption was revoked by the Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews. The latter acted on the basis of the McCarran committee report which pictured the IPR as the center of a conspiracy which reached into the State Department, subverted Chiang Kai-shek and connived at a Communist take-over in China. The government, in contesting the suit, put into evidence the 14 volumes of McCarran committee (Senate Internal Security) hearings on the IPR. The IPR challenged the government to produce for cross-examination the witnesses who had appeared against the IPR before McCarran, but the government failed to do so.

The IPR, represented by Charles Kades, of Hawkins, Delafield and Wood, submitted in evidence copies of all its publications for 1953-55 and the proceedings of all its international conferences since its establishment in 1925. Many distinguished witnesses, among them Philip Jessup of Columbia,

Labor's Far Eastern Expert

One of McCarran's witnesses against the Institute of Pacific Relations was Prof. David N. Rowe of Yale. He accused the IPR of engaging in "propaganda" and called Owen Lattimore "probably the principal agent of Stalinism" among Far Eastern specialists. Prof. Rowe has been chosen to be the speaker on the Far East for the coming AFL-CIO pre-summit conference discussed on page two of this week's issue.

appeared on its behalf. Judge David N. Edelstein in the Federal Court for the Southern District of New York found on March 30 that the IPR had not engaged in "the dissemination of controversial and partisan propaganda" and had "made no attempt to influence the policies and/or actions of any government or governmental officials." He issued an order for recovery of the taxes paid, and thus paved the way for reinstatement of tax exemption. The government has not yet decided whether to appeal.

The McCarthy-McCarran hearings ruined the careers of such Foreign Service "old China hands" as John Carter Vincent, John Stewart Service and John Paton Davies. It effectively smeared a whole group of Far Eastern experts who like them had been critical of Chiang Kai-shek. It subjected Owen Lattimore to what he described in a book on his experiences as *Ordeal by Slander*. But Lattimore won his battle when his perjury indictment was dismissed without trial. The IPR case was the first time the McCarthy-McCarran material had been scrutinized by a trial judge. Its rejection as unfounded deserved wider publicity.

Text of Decision in Favor of Institute of Pacific Relations

"The issue involved in this case is the nature of the plaintiff's activity in the taxable year 1955. The only direct evidence of what actually happened in that year was presented by the plaintiff. This evidence was totally uncontradicted and utterly unimpeached by the Government in any direct way. The Government's case was presented by indirection. It offered into evidence the report and hearings of the McCarran Internal Security Subcommittee concerning the activities of the plaintiff in the years before 1950, and attempted to establish their relevance to the year 1955 by the plaintiff's admission that its purposes, practices and procedures had not changed in the intervening years. Indeed, the plaintiff not only admits, but insists, that it has not changed. The Government's position, therefore, becomes double edged. The plaintiff can persuasively argue that it is properly to be described in 1955 by the evidence it presented in court and that this description is equally applicable to years covered by the McCarran Committee Report. There is not in this case the shadow of a scintilla of evidence to meet the plaintiff's case for the year 1955 other than that which can be dragged in by the back door on the flimsy vehicle of what is in effect no more than the plaintiff's plea of not guilty to the ancient charges against it. Moreover, it is in this case that the plaintiff has for the first time had its "day in court" on those charges. The Government has not seen fit to join issue with the plaintiff, on this first opportunity for joinder, in any meaningful way. It may be conceded that evidence of operations in prior years may be relevant. But it is highly doubtful that evidence of remote years may be considered relevant in the complete absence of evidence of any recent prior years, on the basis merely of the flimsy linkage of the plaintiff's

unyielding cry of not guilty to charges which it now for the first time gets the meaningful opportunity to refute. Nevertheless, a pre-trial denial of plaintiff's motion for summary judgment was bottomed on the ground of the admissibility of the report. It does not appear that the issue of relevance was argued to or specifically considered by the court, and the earlier ruling is not necessarily binding as law of the case. But because the ruling has some theoretical basis, I am reluctant to disturb it. Moreover, the ruling is slightly strengthened by the fact that the plaintiff's evidence necessarily involves the earlier years to some extent. Consequently, although I regard the ruling of the admissibility of the evidence as doubtful, I shall adhere to it.

But if the Government succeeds in introducing this report into evidence essentially in reliance on the "no change" argument, it succeeds in the same stroke in conveying its own appraisal of the weight of that evidence. Indeed, the Government's tactics in opposing plaintiff's suit speaks so eloquently about the relative weight of the evidence as almost to spare the court the burden of weighing it. By leaning on the slender thread of the "no change" argument and relying exclusively on the committee hearings and report, the Government concedes that it cannot specifically meet issues posed for the later years by the plaintiff's case; and if it cannot meet those issues, refusing even the attempt, the "no change" argument must inevitably be resolved in the plaintiff's favor. The plaintiff utilized its "day in court" to make its record in the way in which it thought that record ought to be made, as any plaintiff in any lawsuit is allowed to do."

—U.S. District Judge David N. Edelstein

On the Witch Hunt Front: Walter's New Bills to Compel Informing

J. Edgar Hoover Indicates Wide Range of Civic Groups Now Being Spied Upon

FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover told the House Appropriations Committee in testimony released last week, "We now have 160 known or suspected Communist front and Communist-infiltrated organizations under investigation." Since there are few real Communist front organizations left in this country, the 160 must include many respectable organizations. Mr. Hoover indicated as much when he said "these various fronts exploit every susceptible segment of American society", the "major targets for infiltration being Negro, social welfare, political and labor groups." Obviously a wide range of liberal, civic and labor organizations are being spied upon.

Back the Roosevelt-Thompson Bill

ACTS TO COMPEL INFORMING: Congressman Walter introduced companion bills last week to bar from Federal employment and from jobs in the merchant marine and on the waterfront any persons who fail to answer certain questions under oath before a Federal agency or Congressional committee. The widest category of question would concern "the participation of such individual, or any other individual, in activities conducted by or under the direction of the Communist Party or any member thereof." Walter said the bills were framed to deal with the decisions in *Parker v. Lester* and *Graham v. Richmond* which forbade the use of faceless informers in Coast Guard and Merchant Marine security screening. Both bills are written as amendments to the Internal Security Act which means that in the Senate they would go to the Internal Security Committee. Eastland and Dodd, its chairman and vice-chairman respectively, see eye to eye with Walter. HR 8121, Walter's bill to allow faceless informers in government security hearings, is now in Internal Security and may be reported out at any time. The bill passed the House without opposition but Roosevelt (D. Cal.) and Thompson (D. N.J.) have introduced a counter-measure, HR 11151. This would amend the Administrative Procedures Act to provide that it shall apply to all Federal loyalty-security or industrial screening cases. The Act was fathered by Walter to protect property interests. The Roosevelt-Thompson bill would extend its safeguards to loyalty-security cases, including the right to confront accusers.

Arens on Way Out

Richard Arens, staff director of the Un-American Activities Committee for the past 14 years, is being forced out by the adverse publicity which followed his exposure as a \$3,000-a-year consultant for an eccentric New York millionaire trying to prove Negro inferiority. Ronald H. May, Washington correspondent of the York, Pa., Gazette and the Madison, Wis., Capitol-Times, who exposed these links (see the Weekly, March 14) reported last Monday that Arens will take a new job after Congress adjourns.

SEEDS OF A FUTURE DREYFUS CASE: In a related field, Congressman Meyer (D. Vt.) challenged a bill S. 1795 which would allow boards of general officers in the armed services to determine whether any commissioned officer shall be required "because his retention is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security, to show cause for his retention on the active list." Mr. Meyer protested (March 30) that this seemed to him "in direct opposition to American law, in which a man is innocent until he is proven guilty. He should not have to show cause for his retention, those who want to have him leave should themselves show the reasons why he should leave." Kilday of Texas, floor manager of the bill, gave the show away when he said it was framed "after a careful reading of the latest decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to security cases." These frown on faceless informers. Since S. 1795 puts the burden of proof on the accused officer, he could not demand that any witnesses against him be produced for cross-examination. "I grant you," Kilday admitted, "that it [the bill] is not entirely consistent with the principles of justice as we know it in the United States, that the man is not confronted by witnesses and is not granted the right of cross-examination." Mr. Meyer said he thought it was "going pretty far" when a man who "devotes his entire life to the service of his country does not even have a complete opportunity to defend his honor." The bill passed nevertheless without opposition. The House, like the country, has long grown accustomed to the violation of what were once considered basic American principles.

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